



FOCUS
MIDWEST

64



TERROR OVER MISSISSIPPI

Lowell L. Erickson

Adams 64

OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

After reviewing recent events such as the prospect of a civil rights bill, the Minutemen declare: "If you are EVER going to buy a gun BUY IT NOW." Instructions are given for size of gun by age and sex of each family member and how much ammunition to stockpile.

Doctors in Illinois and Missouri were recently denied accreditation. The Illinois Department of Registration and Education refused to honor the license of Washington doctors because Illinois law provides "reciprocity with only a state, territory, country or province." The Missouri case is as senseless but in addition involves fundamental constitutional issues. Dr. Harold W. Lischner, now teaching at the University of Pennsylvania, was denied a license to practice medicine in Missouri on the ground he believes in pacifism and that he would disobey laws that his conscience tells him are wrong. The order of denial by the Missouri State Board of Healing Arts stated that the professional skill of the applicant "was not questioned." The order concluded that the "applicant was not a man of good moral character" because he claimed that Congress has no right to deny freedom of conscience or to compel men to do an act which their conscience tells them is morally wrong. Dr. Lischner is a former faculty member of the University of Missouri School of Medicine. While Dr. Lischner does not plan to return to Missouri, he was seeking a license as a matter of principle. Surprisingly, Gov. John Dalton and gubernatorial candidate Hilary A. Bush supported the Board's decision. Attorney General Tom Eagleton, the gubernatorial candidates Warren E. Hearnes and Ethan A. Shepley, and the Southeast Missouri Medical Society disagreed with the ruling.

Speaking in Highland, Illinois State Auditor Michael J. Howlett turned to the issue of prayers in public schools and said that the constitutional amendment providing for separation of church and state "never intended to keep God out of the schools, but to keep the state out of the church."

The Illinois Teachers College Board, responsible for administration of Eastern, Western and Northern Illinois and Illinois State Universities, has ordered faculty sponsors to pass on student publications at the four schools, following an incident in which an allegedly libelous article was nearly published in the *Eastern State News*.

A U. S. House Committee on Government Operations reported that the polygraph was found to be only 72 per cent accurate in judging falsehoods. (All federal courts and most state tribunals refuse to admit results of a polygraph test into evidence.)

The committee of One Million Caucasians to March on Congress (July 4th) has been exposed as being connected with the American Nazi Party and other anti-Semitic and anti-Negro groups, such as the National States Rights Party and the Christian Voters and Buyers League. The organization's full page ad in a Glendale, California paper gave the same PO box number as that of a distributor of Nazi Party literature. National headquarters are in Atlanta, and national officers have been identified as including Admiral John Cromelin, an Alabama bigot; James Venable, an Atlanta attorney; and Wally Butterworth, a former Atlanta radio announcer with Klan connections. Venable and Butterworth worked together two years ago in starting the Defensive Legion of Registered Americans for "anti-Kosher" boycott campaigns.

Concluding a favorable review of the record of Senator Joseph McCarthy, the Rev. John E. Coogan, S. J. writes in *Our Sunday Visitor*: "How daring, then, was the prediction of Senator Eastland of Mississippi when he concluded of Senator McCarthy that 'his name will be blessed in the hearts and minds of free and liberty loving people as long as the light of western civilization shines on this earth.'"

James Baldwin's book, "Another Country," and the novels of Henry Miller have been barred from the bookshops of Columbus, Ohio.

The Advisory Board of the Daughters of the American Revolution includes T. Coleman Andrews, a Birch Society leader.

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LITERARY EDITOR/Webster Schott

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Letters

The Church and Birth Control

F/M: . . . If Rabbi Ralph Simon's article ("The Church and Birth Control") were renamed "Theologians vs. Scientists," it could be timeless.

Hedy Kairys
Chicago, Illinois

F/M: I read in Vol. III, No. 1, that the Mid-America Conference makes bold to assert that *continuation* of the present *rates of growth* "can only lead to conflict in competing for living space."

What did the Kaiser fight for in 1914? "Lebensraum!" What did Hitler and Mussolini fight for in WW II? "Lebensraum," even at the expense of genocide! With two-thirds of the world on the famished end of three billion people, all getting by on what is about enough to take good care of one billion, "The Great Hunger" will continue to do all the *leading*.

After that much leading has culminated in WW I and WW II, the Conference feels we should *begin* to look into the matter, but only with the objective of reducing the *rate* at which we continue to go from bad to worse. What is needed is a reduction of *population* for the next several centuries. If it were done slowly and peaceably at, say one-fourth per cent per annum, it would only take about eight or ten centuries to adjust world population to world natural resources; but the mere cessation of the pressure of increase would work wonders in ten years or so.

Considering this country only, at the end of twelve years, with five million less people, instead of thirty millions more, our overworked and underpaid grammar school teachers could be giving one-third as many children twice as much schooling, and stop working overtime. In 16 years the high school overload disappears and in 20 years the college load.

The only notable reductions in population in recorded history are believed to be in Europe in the early 15th century, when bubonic plague was the benefactor and a twenty-year boom of prosperity followed the departure of the benefactor before the

baby boom restored our poverty; and on a much smaller, local scale, in 1846-56, when eight and one-fourth million Irish were reduced to four million. Of this decrease about one million were exported, one and one-half million starved outright, and the rest was due to limitation of family size by much more difficult means than we now have available. Neither of these catastrophes is pleasant reading, but the world is headed at top speed into a cataclysm that will make either one of them seem a trivial prelude.

Away back in 1930 U.S. prosperity was "just around the corner." Hoover never turned that corner, but somebody else did, at least for a generation or two. Today world peace and prosperity is "just around the corner" — exactly where it has been since before the days of King Tut in Egypt. For 4000 years we have cheered on our theologians and statesmen while they made war and eulogized peace, and turning the corner has been ignored.

Donald H. Sweet
Evanston, Illinois

Senator Long Endorses "Food For Peace"

F/M: Hunger, man's most primitive indignity, has gnawed for centuries at the prospect for peace.

An American response to the anguish and misery of hunger has long been a part of our foreign policy. Yet, this is not the product of a rich man's arrogant philanthropy. We reach toward the weak abroad because we ourselves have known hunger — the quiet pain of bread-lines during the Depression, the stagnant poverty of Appalachia today.

The most extensive food export program in U.S. history — Public Law 480 — was undertaken in 1954. Known today as Food for Peace, it has converted the surpluses of American farms into daily food for 100 million undernourished peoples in 100 countries. This month an average of one hundred and fifty 10,000-ton Food for Peace ships will leave American harbors.

The results are encouraging. It is

estimated that during the first nine years of Food for Peace, the per cent of world population living on sub-standard diets has dropped from three fourths to two thirds. So, our battle against hunger must continue.

Unless Congress acts, a substantial part of the Food for Peace program will end abruptly in December. There appears to be no serious opposition to renewing the program, but I do not believe this will be enough. We should take this opportunity to make the program more effective.

In my opinion, the following changes are needed:

1. We should place more emphasis on the use of food for improving health. Since studies show that individual health is improved if a proper diet is administered before age six, it seems clear to me that we should concentrate on providing food for pre-school children.

2. I think we should investigate new methods of processing these commodities so that they can fulfill a wider set of needs abroad. One problem in distributing our surpluses is to adjust to the dietary habits of native peoples. By experimenting with new ways of processing commodities — so they will meet special diet patterns — we will increase the usefulness of our food shipments.

3. Most of the surplus commodities in this program are sold to less-developed countries for local currencies. We then use these currencies to lend to local governments or private businesses for economic development, to sponsor educational and cultural exchanges, to pay for U.S. embassies, etc. I advocate we use more of these funds on local agricultural development. Why?

First, agricultural development is an essential first-step to industrialization—and all less-developed countries want to industrialize. Higher land productivity, gained by better farm technology, frees farm laborers to work in industrial projects. This is vital to industrialization because new industry is dependent on an increased labor supply.

Second, an increase in agricultural

Continued on page 22

FOCUS/Midwest



both men called on an outstate account today



Men who value their time—on the job and at leisure—fly Ozark . . . the airline that measures the midwest in minutes. So check your travel plans—check Ozark's fast, frequent service between 56 cities in eleven states. Two minutes spent now on a call to Ozark or your travel agent can save you many valuable hours.



The Barnes Hospital Controversy

ALTHOUGH the prospects for a solution to the Barnes Hospital-Washington University controversy in St. Louis appear dim indeed, a way out must be found. We have been so conditioned to view situations "in relationship to" the social, economic, structural, and other "basic" data, that we sometimes tend to complicate simple matters. Here the question is not, as one University spokesman said, whether Barnes will continue as "a great teaching hospital or become a luxurious dump." And the question is not, as one Barnes official saw it, "whether the University is willing to cooperate to keep this hospital financially able to provide good patient care."

The core of the issue is Edgar M. Queeny. Mr. Queeny does not understand the academic mind. Professors do not respond in executive suite manner, they do not jump when the boss barks, and Mr. Queeny, who is described as a kind of Kingshighway DeGaulle, "has just never been crossed before," as one doctor puts it. Mr. Queeny has indeed put Barnes "on the move" (to quote an official spokesman) but in the process he has alienated those professional men who give the Center its immense scholarly reputation. This, is not "good business."

Would Mr. Queeny resign? Of course not. When someone suggested that he resign, he was highly incensed. He doesn't run away from battles, he enjoys them. His counterpart in the dispute, Dean Dempsey, did submit his resignation to the executive faculty early in May. It was refused.

FOCUS/Midwest prepared a complete report on the dispute about six months ago. We withheld publication in the belief that a solution might best be achieved in a quiet atmosphere. Publicized positions become rigid. However, during these months the relationships have further deteriorated.

The entire controversy is being discussed in a series of articles in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, which just began as this issue goes to press. By the time our readers receive this edition, other developments may date some aspects of Harriett Woods' article, "Edgar M. Queeny — Kingshighway DeGaulle," but the crux of the controversy will remain unsolved.

There is one hopeful factor which may ultimately serve to foster a solution. First, we bank on the innate business sense of Mr. Queeny. A reactionary for years (in 1948 he "resigned" from the Washington University Board after he unsuccessfully recommended the ouster of faculty members for their po-

EDITORIALS

litical views), he is not a destroyer. We are convinced he wants to create a "profitable" and excellent hospital. Once he is made to realize the disruption to the teaching of medicine and hospital care in St. Louis, we do not think that his personal pride will obstruct his social consciousness.

If all else fails, and before the institutions sever their 50-year relationship, an outside mediator should be invited not only to make a report, but work with the parties till a new arrangement is found. The mediator must have national stature, be acceptable to all parties, and stay with the dispute day by day.

The Vigilantes

In this issue "Sedition in Illinois?", by Professor Donald Meiklejohn, explores the 1949 Broyles investigation in Illinois and its lasting effects. The investigation was an all too typical aberration in legislative behavior trying to intimidate, if not silence, the more unorthodox among our teachers. Today, again, wild accusations are made by the vigilantes against a University of Minnesota professor. Demands have been made for legislative investigation of Professor Mulford Q. Sibley, a Quaker and political scientist, who has apparently expressed some unpopular views. Commendably, the University and the American Association of University Professors are staunchly backing the social scientist in his right to express his views. Very often grade and high school teachers are even more exposed to these pressures, usually spearheaded by adherents of the far right. Unfortunately, these cases keep Meiklejohn's article ever pertinent.

No Income Tax for Gov. Kerner!

ILLINOIS has no income taxes. "We will not have them as long as I am governor because we don't need them," declared Governor Otto Kerner recently. Of course, it is the legislature which should enact a fair, equitable, and graduated income tax — preferably a withholding income tax. But to pride himself for opposing an income tax which could solve the serious financial difficulties Illinois will be facing is, at least, regrettable.



HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Not of the Poor

America has been made aware of its poverty. I do not believe we were ignorant of its existence, but we preferred to ignore it. Poverty is not concentrated in one spot. It exists in pockets of the elderly tucked away here, a central city slum there, a marginal rural area somewhere else, and is scattered among other pockets of prosperity in a depressed region like Appalachia. We like to look at the bright instead of the ugly. *Planes and superhighways permit us to whisk by everything too fast to observe anything. Arterial thru-ways allow us to glide from suburb to work without noticing what is in between.*

But that is no excuse to "pass by on the other side" like the Priest and the Levite in the story of the Good Samaritan, when 40 million plus of our fellow citizens must live at or below the level of subsistence. These people are not shiftless, lazy, or without ambition. They have just been forgotten, when they slipped through the cracks of a rapidly changing society that is revolutionizing economic life as it is everything else.

To ignore the poor further will be to turn our backs on the basic values of our Judeo-Christian heritage. It will be a complete disgrace if the richest society on the face of the earth fails to lift its poor into a status of self-respect and independence above the poverty line. There is nothing new about the evils of poverty. The deprivations and degradations of poverty have nagged a civilized conscience for centuries. What is new about poverty in the U.S. is that it is unnecessary. We must act — now.

President Johnson has called for that action. He means it and he won't quit. The proposals he has submitted in "The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964" are where we must begin. It is only a beginning but this legislation contains the principles and form of the long range attack we must sustain.

Five basic programs are proposed. Underprivileged young Americans will be given opportunity to develop skills and continue education on a work-training, work-study program. American communities will be given opportunity to develop plans to fight

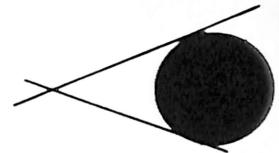
their own poverty with Federal assistance. Small business loans will give investment incentive to create more employment. Family unity will be sustained by job support of those unable to care for their families. Americans in all parts of the country and of all ages will be given the opportunity to enlist as volunteers in the war on poverty wherever it exists.

The enduring principles are clear:

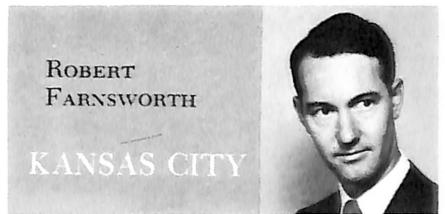
1. Jobs are needed more than welfare. To give welfare without jobs is to create dependency. Of course where human need is urgent, welfare relief should be given. This is simple humanity. Welfare alone, however, only mows the tops of the dandelion and does not get rid of the weed. Jobs must be provided, and people must be educated and trained to hold them. Then only can they do what they want to do — stand on their own feet and have the dignity and freedom which come only from that.

2. The above puts a major and continuing emphasis upon education of the children of the underprivileged. If the misfortunes of the fathers are not to be visited upon the sons, the self-perpetuating cycle of poverty must be broken. Undereducation, unemployment, low income, dependency, weakened family authority, and personal inadequacy breed themselves. Therefore we must assault the education task, providing a thorough capability in the English language, a sound education for citizenship, and a vocational education that provides marketable skills. Major effort will be required here beyond the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. But that proposed legislation recognizes fundamentals and will provide guidelines for the next steps.

3. All America must become aware, take initiative, volunteer. This means individuals, local communities, states, regions. *Poverty is not a problem of the poor. It is a national problem.* I know we have the resources to attack the problem. I believe we have the wit, wisdom, and the human concern. The leadership of President Johnson must be supported. The Congress must pass the legislation to start the attack.



DATELINES



By the time this is published, we have voted again; this time on school bonds and an area wide junior college. The school bond proposals have about as much chance to win the necessary two thirds majority as the Athletics have to win the pennant. The area junior college seems more likely to make it. While the agitation mounts in K.C. to have the state government reassess its restrictive requirement of a two thirds majority to pass city bond proposals, it might also be a good time to reassess the reasoning which makes revenue for educational purposes depend solely on property taxes.



But speaking of the Athletics, Gino Cimoli has been dropped and our man Friday is flashing Mr. Finley's green to draw Jim Landis here from the Chicago Sox. Charley O's reasoning seems about as clear as the Missouri just after it is joined by the Kaw, but one does have to admit that at least for the first twenty games of this season Jim Gentile and Rocky Colavito have made the A's a more exciting spectacle than they were last year.



Meanwhile, for music fans, a great big hot and cool jazz festival was here for eight hours. And everybody dug it so, next year promises to bring an even bigger and gaudier show.

Poetry, too, has found surprising support. Readings by American poets at the Jewish Community Center and the first Heart of America poetry contest have been successful. Both seem on the way to becoming robust annual institutions.

Another cultural institution in peril, the Lyric Opera, was saved for next fall by the management of the Rock-hill Theatre. Kudos to Mr. Terregrossa and employer.



Chancellor Scofield of UMKC is satisfied with the progress that has been made during the University's first year as a state institution. Exhibit A: The former Board of Trustees, now primarily a fund raising body, has pledged itself to supplementing the state appropriation to the university with one million dollars a year, more than they ever were able to raise for the University as a private institution. Exhibit B: The graduate program has grown into a full-fledged

Graduate School. Meanwhile the arts and sciences budget request for new faculty to handle the expected increase in students was cut in half. So larger classes and an overburdened faculty seem inevitable.



Finally, whether K.C. operates on Daylight Savings Time or not (a heated local controversy), the new Earnings Tax is rolling in the cash at an embarrassing rate. The latest report: \$1,457,510, while the first quarter estimate was \$840,000. Who knows, the city may even have enough to drop the new fifteen cent charge on the kiddies at the Children's Zoo.

S. K. OBERBECK

ST. LOUIS



The true nature of an addiction was not revealed to me until my wife and I visited Sanibel and Captiva islands on the Gulf coast of Florida near Ft. Meyers. In retrospect, we now recall that our motor trip through the state was attended by many watchful vultures wheeling lazily over our dusty station-wagon.

These omens were apt. The two islands, connected by a new causeway to Punta Rassa, are hideaways whose famous shell beaches attract collectors from the entire nation. We saw them avidly list along in a characteristic stoop and shuffle, sifting the sands for treasures found among the millions of mollusks cast up by a provident sea on those gently sloping beaches.

We watched with deference. True, we longed for some wanderer's disorder to rival the luxurious cases of continental museum feet and cathedral neck displayed by our friends after Atlantic crossings. But sheller's back, even the fairly expensive Florida variety, seemed a bit shy of the mark when matched against rhomboids aching from cold drafts in Saint Sophia or the Louvre.

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to 2 a.m.

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With time off for good behavior —
and if I don't get knifed — I
should be out of here in 18
months.

Shells take a curious precedence over everything on Sanibel-Captiva, however. There are societies and clubs, daily reports of significant finds in the island newspaper, shops and private collections that bristle with the alarmingly beautiful specimens dredged up from the ocean floor.

We felt like pikers picking along the surface carpet of mollusk shells lying like mulch on the sand.

Then, one day in our first week of decompressing from city atmosphere (something like the urban bends), my wife found a tiny, delicately spiraled shell in the fine wash at the edge of the tide. It was later identified as a wentletrap.

I would say my addiction began there. The wentletrap is a coiled, screw-shaped gastropod whose shell is usually pure white — whiter than the Angel Wing also found on the island beaches. If at this moment I could express to you what extreme pleasure its alabaster whorls generated, the silky texture of its exterior, the maddening voluptuousness of its operculum — but I am ahead of myself. The addiction came not all at once, but grew stealthily inside me, more deadly than the bite of the South Borneo Pung Spider, more insidious than the slithering poison of

the black African mamba.

She had found it — found it among all the common-place Turkey Wings, Old Maid's Curls, and slipper shells, the petulant pagodas of the Murex family, whose shells provided the crimson of Caeser's toga before Brutus' knife did in those ancient days of ill augur.

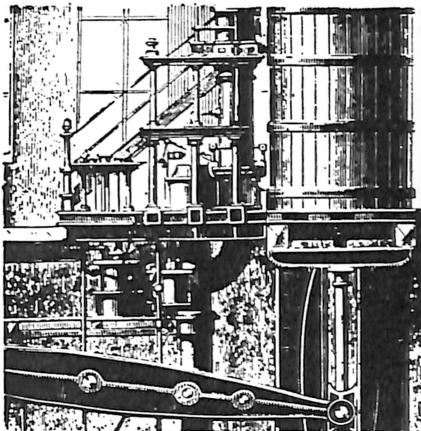
And so began the affliction we called, with downcast eyes, the Wentletrap Disease. After the day of my wife's first discovery, the vultures went unnoticed by my glassy eyes. They were glassy because I had taken to leaving her at night to hunt with a flashlight along the darkened shores, probing with meticulous care and controlled breathing in hopes of uncovering another — a larger — wentletrap softly flaring its seductive mantle in the moonlight of my torch.

In shame, I returned with nothing but a Grinning Tun (its grin derivative) and a Perverse Whelk, to the praises of my wife who was trying already to buoy up my sinking spirits. Then, as the danger sign appearing in alcoholic drinking patterns, I began to search before breakfast for the elusive wentletrap, the staircase shell before whose name Science, in its wisdom, has placed the nominations of "Noble," "Precious," "Magnificent."

These searches in the dazzling morning sun (for food was long forgotten) began to generate the incantations with which I attempted to conjure out the precious prize that kept itself hidden from me. As my frenzied fingers scrabbled in the flurry of shells — augurs, hateful augurs by the hundreds, and common nutmegs and murex, whelks, figs, miters, volutes — my neck and shoulders took on the bloody hues of a vulture's cere, my words came forth broken, incoherent, my wife took to reading James Bond and drinking pink gin on the wide porch that overlooked the sea.

Still, the noble wentletrap eluded me, even until the last moment (I could break the window in the shell shop just before we cross the bridge, I thought momentarily, and take away the one bright specimen . . .).

The obsession has not withered. The sign we saw outside Ft. Meyers as we sadly turned our station wagon north said "Dairy Queen Served by Jolly Grandmothers." I did not smile. Somewhere, in the delicious tides, flecked with salt and phosphor, the wentletrap is reclining in smug comfort, its mantle serenely waving . . . I look down at my Perverse Whelk. I cannot go on . . . These are the fruits of a just punishment.



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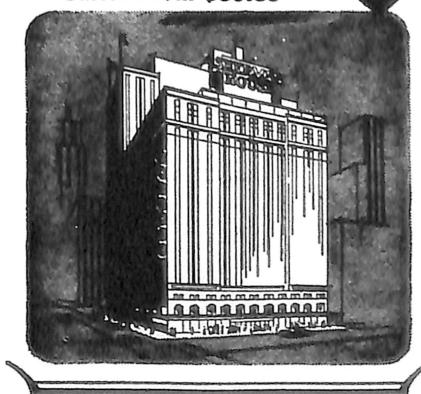
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TERROR OVER MISSISSIPPI

Lowell L. Erickson



A REVOLUTION has come to Mississippi—thus far peaceful with only incidental violence and killings. The revolution assumes that the ballot box is the way out of the almost slave-like conditions of the Negro masses in the state. It is based on an implicit trust in the democratic process. This trust exists in spite of a wide-spread feeling that federal government has not done all it can.

If the present efforts at voter registration fail or are negated by new legislation, Mississippi faces the most extreme crisis. The civil rights movement has been patient. The moderate leadership has been able to maintain control. However, if some progress is not made in the next few months a guerrilla type warfare is possible. One hears now and then of the possibility of open insurrection. It is time for the responsible white leadership to come out of hiding and assume "leadership."

The state of Mississippi is an American police state. I know, I have been there.

Mississippi remains one of the last states where there is complete separation of the Negro and white communities. As recently as the 1930's conditions existed much

as they had before the Civil War. Negro plantation workers were on that plantation for life—and their children remained there for life as well. Any Negro worker who left a plantation and was subsequently found anywhere in the state was returned as though he were a piece of property. Even today in the mid-Sixties stories are told of Negroes being employed to assist with the baling of cotton and at the conclusion of the baling work they are ordered off the land with absolutely no remuneration and with no legal recourse.

ALL of the national civil rights movements have come together in the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) to cooperate in a massive attack on the problem of Negro voter registration.

The United Church of Christ and the Presbyterian Church, USA, in cooperation with the National Council of Churches, have joined in this struggle. This participation is making an impact on the white community which has believed that the people and the churches of the North agree with the people and churches of the South on segregation. The participation of the northern, white clergy is putting some of the first self-doubts into the white community.

The churches of the South, especially Mississippi, are almost totally segregated. The southern clergy in Mississippi either believe in segregation or hold a moderate position which, in that state, means it is not discussed.

Perhaps most importantly, the participation of the northern white clergy is permitting the Negro community to assume some self-confidence and self-respect. Recently a group of us attended a meeting in the "Rural" of Madison County. Canton is the county seat and everything out of Canton is called the Rural. During the course of the meeting, a Negro lady said that all her life she had come to accept her position in Canton as inevitable. Now she is seeing white people at her Church, and she is seeing white people come around urging her people to go to the Court House to register to vote. The outside help has encouraged her and others to take a hard look at themselves. This is the first time in their lives that they are looking and trying to change their situation. This growing self-confidence is vital because if the struggle is to be won, it must be won by the Negroes themselves. The whites can only assist—Negroes are the ones who must finally stand before the registrar and face all the humiliations.

MY participation in the voter-registration in Mississippi began with a phone call late at night asking if I could be in Canton, Mississippi the next day. In less than twenty-four hours I found myself in Jackson and enroute to Canton which is about twenty miles away. I felt strange, as if I had left America.

The center of all voter registration efforts is Freedom House. This is a busy, chaotic center in the Negro section of Canton through which all activities to break segregation in Madison County are coordinated. Staffed almost entirely by students who have taken a year or more from their studies, it has all the vitality and optimism and good humor that one might expect.

We were housed in Negro homes. The Negroes who opened their homes took risks because it is a violation of Mississippi law to have whites as guests. They were only safe because the Negro community closes as one and dons a silent face to the white community. There was always, of course, the danger of Uncle Toms, but they were known, and steps were taken to insure that the

Uncle Toms did not know where we stayed overnight. We ate in Negro restaurants. We would not have been welcome in white restaurants even had we wanted to go there. Again, the Negroes took great risks because the white power structure controls their licenses to operate. At any moment these might be revoked on a technicality or for no reason.

We were told that our presence was valuable because of its supportive function, but there were specifics we could do: get the Negroes down to the Court House for voter registration. This was exceedingly difficult because they promptly lost their jobs if they were seen attempting to do so. The name of each person attempting to register is listed in the local paper for two weeks to make certain that everyone in the white community is informed. Madison County is about 70 per cent Negro. It is difficult to get an estimate of the number of Negroes who are registered because in the words of the Registrar "we don't keep records by race." An estimate is that fifty or sixty out of a Negro population of six thousand are registered.

We went from door to door urging each to go down to the Court House. The goal was to keep five or ten people at the Court House every day.

A major obstacle is poverty. It is beyond belief. If a Negro maid attempts to register, she promptly loses her job. She is paid \$8 to \$10 a week for a seven-day work week. But she loses much more than eight or ten dollars. The surplus commodities program of the USDA is administered locally. *Surplus commodities are distributed only to those Negroes who are cooperative.* The white who employs "Martha" will phone the local committee in charge of the commodities and tell them to give "Martha" some food. The day "Martha" attempts to register to vote, she phones and says, " 'Martha' has attempted to register to vote and I have dismissed her." *No more commodities to "Martha" and her family, although this is a Federal program.*

In an attempt to deal with the terrible economic reprisals, a new industry for the manufacture of handmade sandals has been projected. This may never materialize because the city council of Canton has refused to license its operation.

THE drive for voter registration is being held in Canton, Hattiesburg, and Greenwood. In Canton the drive was climaxed by a successful Freedom Day rally on February 28. It was held in front of the Court House under the most trying conditions. Some six hundred Negroes and some whites (all from outside Mississippi) gathered in an effort to register voters. During the entire day eight Negroes were permitted inside the Court House, and five were registered.

Lowell L. Erickson, the author of "Terror over Mississippi," was ordained by the Congregational Church in 1956. Currently he is the executive director of the United World Federalists, Midwest Region, covering downstate Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri.

While he was the associate minister of the Plymouth Congregational Church in Minneapolis, he was also active on the professional staff of a congressional campaign and assisted a labor arbitrator in settling disputes. In 1961 he was appointed as available arbitrator in Minnesota. He served as chaplain in the U.S. Navy in 1962 and 1963.

Erickson is a graduate of Macalester College and attended the Harvard Law School. He received his bachelor of divinity from the Yale University Divinity School.

Before going to the Court House, the Negroes removed all objects from their persons. A favorite form of harrassment is to be arrested for carrying concealed weapons — that is, a small pocket knife. Police had been recruited from Hattiesburg and Jackson. In addition some 200 persons had been deputized to "maintain order." The Court House stands in the middle of the square surrounded on four sides by the business district. Besides the police on the ground, the second stories of all business houses were filled with men pointing rifles out of the windows.

The local civil rights leaders were convinced that the only thing which prevented bloodshed was the presence of white, northern clergy and the cameras of the national media services.

Another Freedom Day was held on March 13. Everyone who left Freedom House was followed by law officers in cars. These cars were followed by trucks carrying white citizens armed with cameras, guns, or night sticks. When the March 13th date had been set, Foote Campbell, the registrar, announced that his office would be closed until noon.

To control demonstrations, Governor Paul E. Johnson signed into law House Bill No. 546: An Act to Prohibit the Unlawful Picketing of State Buildings, Courthouses, Public Streets, and Sidewalks. This bill was rushed through the Legislature in less than one month.

On April 9, the day after Governor Johnson signed the bill into law, 52 people were arrested in Greenwood for picketing. The next day, 55 were arrested in Hattiesburg. The 52 arrested in Greenwood were first asked to move to the west side of the Courthouse. They complied. They were then told that only ten residents of Greenwood would be allowed to picket. Refusing to accept this further limitation, the picketers were all arrested, including two local Negro ministers and eight white ministers from Pennsylvania and Ohio. Also arrested were five school children, aged 9, 10, 11, 11, and 13. These were taken to the police station and later released to their parents. *As the children were released, police told the parents that if the children picketed again, the parents would be arrested and the children sent to reform school.* The rest of the pickets were charged with Unlawful Picketing and Refusing to Obey an Officer. Charges were dropped later in the day, and all 47 adult demonstrators were released.

Acivil rights prisoner in Canton or Jackson has no guarantee of the safety of his life. The favorite technique is to tell the other prisoners that "we are bringing you an integrationist — you know what to do." The following is a sworn affidavit to indicate one incident that happened at the Hinds County Jail.

"April 21, 1964

On Thursday, April 16, Marion Gillon, Negro, and I, Eli Hochstedler, white, were arrested for attempting to integrate the Jackson Municipal auditorium to attend the Holiday Ice Show. We were charged with Breach of Peace. On Friday, the following day we were each sentenced to six months imprisonment and \$500.00. We were taken to the Hinds County jail about 6:30 p.m. About 9:30 p.m. I was beaten and whipped by two prisoners in the cell in which I was staying.

The jailer did not place me behind bars at the same time the rest of the white prisoners were put in. From the looks and stares I sensed

that they had been told why I was in jail. One of the prisoners later told me that the jailer had told them before hand who was coming and what I had been arrested for. After taking a shower, I was told by a prisoner (who later beat me) that I had better stay on my bunk in my cell if I knew what was good for me. The six common cells had eight bunks in each and were open 6:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.

At about 9:30 p.m. a dozen or more inmates gathered in the cell where I had been told to stay. I was told to get out of my bunk. After

talking and trying to reason with them for some time, I was told that they were going to show me and any other people from the North thinking about coming down to stir up trouble what would happen to them if they came. I had been sitting on the lower bunk. When I stood a prisoner, who weighed about 400 lbs., hit me near the left eye. I fell to the floor. When I got up, he hit me and knocked me down again. After one or two repetitions, I fell into a lower bunk. My face was bleeding. He then stopped hitting me. One of the prisoners ordered me to get back

Beyond the Law / Philip M. Klutznick

SENATORS and Representatives, if they seek to stay in office, are frequently confronted by the great dichotomy between the national interest and local mores. The extended debate on Civil Rights legislation suffers from the first law of nature: survival. There is no other way to account for it. If the pending bill were not a symbol, and therefore must be enacted, I would say that it is holding up too many other things that urgently need doing.

The Civil Rights Bill perpetuates the North-South contest when, in fact, the many things that need doing are not divisible by the Mason-Dixon Line. The Southern legislators do themselves and their constituents an injustice by giving most of the country the impression that on this issue the South are the "bad guys" and the North are the "good guys." It is true that the problems are different. But, the realization of human dignity for the Negro and other groups is not confined to one section or another of our country. We need to get the Civil Rights Bill passed and behind us. It would be good for everybody, including the Southern congressmen, among whom are some of our most able legislators.

The passage of the Bill is not the end; it is only a beginning. The monumental task of eliminating discrimination and establishing the rule of equal opportunity is still ahead. In education, in employment, and in shelter, alone, the necessary amount of re-thinking and re-building is colossal. It is encouraging that many are giving serious attention to this business. In large measure, the plight of the Negro is not his problem, for he cannot solve it. It is the white man's problem for he can solve it, and he must if he is to square his acts with his professions and beliefs.

Today white people are worrying about injustices against a tenth of our population. But, is it like the case of the restaurant owner who denied service to an African in multi but who pleaded that he would not have done so if the diplomat had only worn his robes instead of a western suit?

What we are really attacking now is only the problem of discrimination. Here we can by law and exhortation hope for the establishment of a fair measure of equality of opportunity. But, this does not get at the more difficult problem of prejudice. Sometimes, the drive for equality, if long and bitter, can even increase the intensity of hate. We can dig out the virus of discrimination; but getting at the inner feelings of prejudice and hatred is a more difficult task. I would hope that as we move toward the elimination of discrimination, we carry with us the hearts as well as the minds of men.

This is a great and exciting time for the common man. The whole world is aglow with a genuine effort to achieve a measure of universal human dignity. States and international organizations are once again placing human rights in positions of priority. In a world grown small even great powers are deeply concerned by the impression created among other nations by acts which deny human dignity. On the other hand, in even so powerful a state as ours, the demand for equality of opportunity stirs an impatience that is more than justified by lapse of time. Out of this could come a five-pronged program which I suggest.

1) Pass the pending Civil Rights Bill. Law may not make good people better, but it may stop badly motivated people from acting.

2) Activate all levels of government and voluntary associations to make real the elimination of discrimination.

3) Be on guard to prevent the growth of prejudice and degradation by keeping human rights on the top of the agenda of public business.

4) Seek the ratification of the human rights conventions already approved by the United Nations, as well as the Convention against Genocide.

5) With our own house in order, place the full strength of the United States in the posture of leadership to achieve human rights and dignity throughout the world! The walls of tyranny can crumble more readily by the combined assault of the world's peoples against discrimination and prejudice. Let us not be filled with qualms at the prospect of a universal court of human rights nor any fresh or progressive way to assure equality and to destroy bias. It was the United States which lead in establishing a judicial process for war criminals — is degradation of people short of war to remain an eligible crime?

Here then is the challenge and the opportunity. Although we are the strongest economic, military, and scientific power, we can only earn true greatness by cleansing ourselves of discrimination and prejudice and by leading an anxious world to a new pinnacle of human dignity.

Philip M. Klutznick, diplomat and community leader, has recently returned to Chicago from years of service with the United States Mission to the United Nations.

on my bunk and to roll up my mattress. They threatened to kill me if I didn't follow orders. I did as I was told. After lying on the steel bunk for 10-15 minutes, I was ordered to get down and lean over with my head on a lower bunk. Another prisoner then began whipping me with a leather belt. I had on only my underwear. After about eight lashes I was ordered to lower my shorts. He then continued the whipping. All during the whipping I kept repeating "Father forgive them, because they really don't know what they are doing. Oh Lord, help me to take it." After 16 or 18 lashings, I screamed and stood up. Somebody then hit me hard on the right jaw and nearly knocked me out. I remained sprawled out on a lower bunk for several minutes, after which I crawled back into my bunk for the rest of the night. No one beat me any more that night. Saturday morning the jailer asked me what had happened to my face. I didn't tell him because the other prisoners were within hearing range. I'm quite sure he knew what happened, but he just laughed when I told him I ran into something.

During the next day one of the prisoners told me that last night was just a sample of what was coming tonight. Because of depression and fear, I made a statement Saturday evening with the pretense that I was changing my ways and would do nothing more in the area of civil rights for Negroes. They made no more attacks on me while I was in jail.

On Monday, April 20, Pete Stoner, another white active in civil rights was placed in the jail. I was told to move into another cell so Pete could stay where I had been. I moved down one cell and across the hall. At about 9:30 p.m., one or more prisoners began beating him. I could not see the beating but could very easily hear it. I heard the continuous beating lasting for about three minutes. Ten or 15 minutes later they ordered him out of his bunk for a whipping. They ordered him to lower his pants. I heard about six or eight lashings. That is all the beating I heard that night. In my opinion, I believe the life of any white civil rights persons is in danger in a Mississippi jail.

Eli Hochstedler"

The FBI has been asked repeatedly to step in. *The FBI is composed of local persons. They stand by and say there is nothing they can do because no federal law has been violated.* The Justice Department has repeatedly been asked to intervene. Federal marshalls have been requested. Thus far to no avail.

If American citizens were treated like this in a Cuban prison, it would make headlines all over the country. These incidents and others are reported to the national media services. The following incident illustrates their response. Five shots were fired into the campus at Tougaloo College. A national wire service was called to report the incident. The caller was asked if anyone had been hit or killed. In this case no one had and so it was not news. And it is not news to be beaten to a pulp in a southern jail.

Law is a mockery in Jackson and in Canton. I arrived at the Jackson airport and noticed two policemen. They gave me long looks. We picked up a rental car and

drove into Jackson. It was an integrated car. Before we had even reached the highway, we were stopped on charges of speeding. A favorite technique of the police is to harass the agitators, as we are called, through traffic charges. The officer was courteous. He told us we had been doing fifty-five but would give us a break and reduce the charge by five miles. He asked for identification and after a few questions about what we were doing in Jackson left by saying he would not give us a ticket this time. He followed us into Jackson — about four miles. We meticulously observed speed limits. Local cars were all passing us, but he paid no attention to them.

At night the police followed us closely with their bright lights on.

The police in Canton asked us to come to the Court House and report in to the local police. This was, ostensibly, for our protection. We declined to do this. *This is the hallmark of the police state.* I have never in my life registered in a police headquarters in this country when I arrived at a new community, and I had no intention of registering of my own free will in Canton. (I did once register with the police in Peshawar, Pakistan which at the time was under martial law.)

There was some humor.

During the period I was in Canton two persons had arrived from Washington D.C., joining three others already there. Five agitators — the police must have been certain something would happen. They were forced to stay constantly on the alert while we only made plans for future activities.

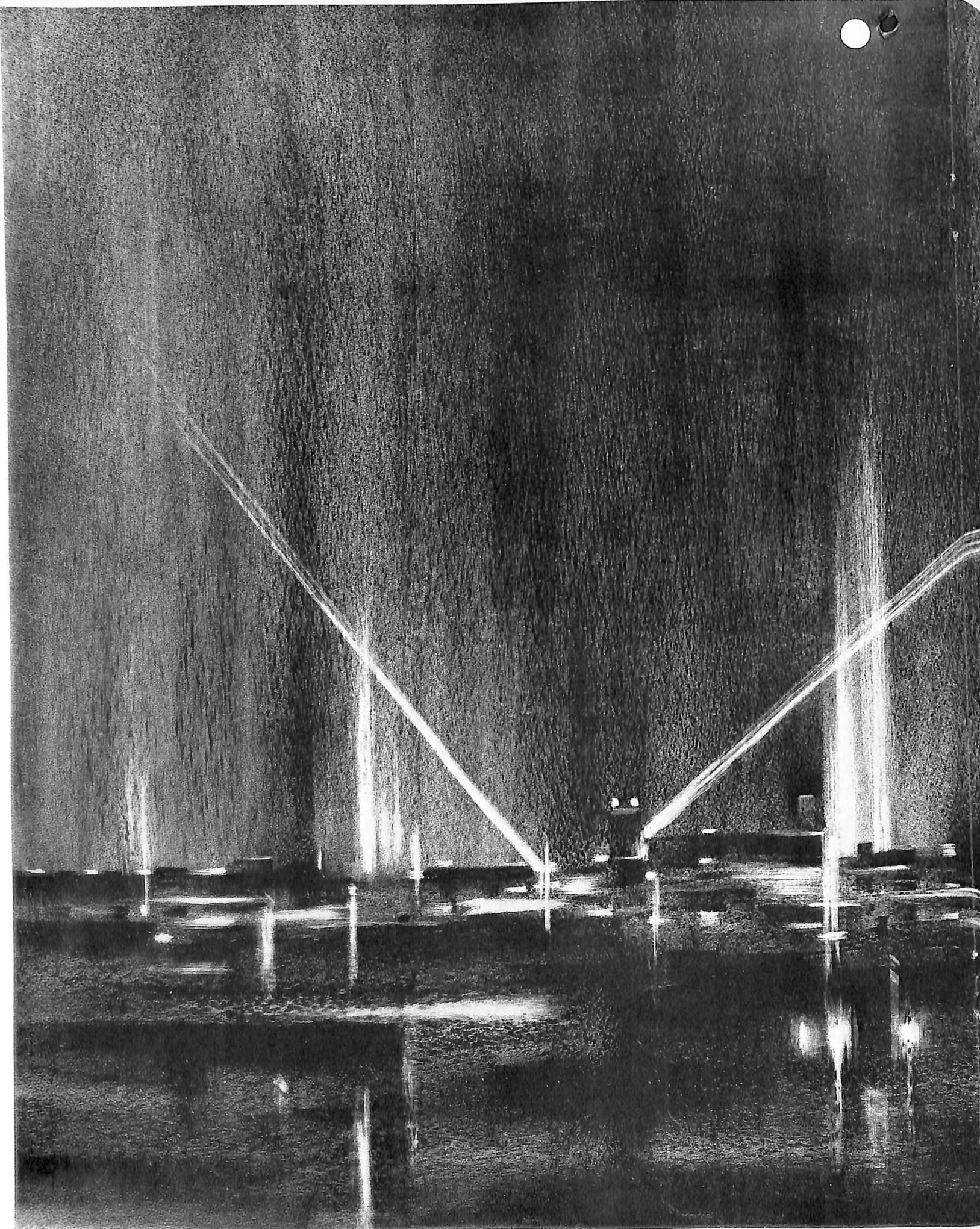
Integrated cars in Jackson are a source of constant amazement to the white population, though not new provided the Negro is sitting in the back seat and is wearing overalls or the uniform of a maid. We were very careful to make certain that a Negro always sat in the front and those of us who were white sat in back. On some occasions, fists were hurled out of passing cars. On others, we were given looks of utter amazement — looking first in the front at the Negro, then back at us. It was beyond their comprehension.

I came away from Mississippi with the conviction that this movement will not stop and that it cannot be stopped until it is successful.

The strength comes from the conviction that what is being done is right. Negroes know that they are affirming fundamental human rights, and they have put everything they possess into the struggle.

Another source of strength is the deep religious faith of the Negro community, the identification with the Old Testament, the suffering of the people of Israel, the prophetic tradition of social righteousness.

The integration drive is essentially a rural movement backed strongly by the young and the old. The Negroes in the Rural are landowners and have a degree of economic independence. The young Negroes are determined that their life and the life of their children are going to be better. The middle age group is less enthusiastic. They have a degree of security and are of the age where it would be most difficult to have to start over if they lose jobs and homes. The older Negroes, however, realize that they have not long to live anyway and are ready to die for human dignity. They didn't believe they would ever live to see this day in Mississippi, and they impart a wonderful excitement. Again and again the reiteration was made that it would be much better to die for a cause than to grow old and die for nothing. They are offering their very lives.



AIRPORT

Richard Florsheim



Richard A. Florsheim has adopted the cold romanticism of neon lights, industry, and architecture through which to express his view of contemporary Americana. His art is disciplined and consistent. Featured here is "Airport," a recent black and white lithograph published for the first time. In an article on Florsheim, Time magazine wrote: "A great part of modern life is lived by artificial light, and yet no major painter has devoted himself to this glittering and multi-hued area until now . . . Richard Florsheim, the first artist to attempt an all-out embrace of the world of electrical, chemical and neon fires, points out that man-made lights are also a part of nature . . . His pictures bring over into the world of art a once dim and obscure night world, new sparkling." His lithographs are in the public collections of numerous American and at least twenty-six foreign museums or galleries. In St. Louis his work may be seen at the Richelle Gallery, 8236 Forsyth, and in Chicago at the Oehlschlaeger Gallery, 107 East Oak Street.





EDGAR M. QUEENY

Kingshighway DeGaulle

A series in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* has just exposed the best-known medical "secret" in town — that Barnes Hospital and Washington University are caught in a bitter policy deadlock which threatens their historic partnership.

At the heart of the controversy is the very concept of a teaching hospital which faculty members feel is threatened by the arbitrary views of an autocratic personality named Edgar M. Queeny, chairman of Barnes' board of trustees.

Ever since Queeny's election in November 1961, he has tackled the deficit ridden hospital's problems with the same vigorous methods which were phenomenally successful for him as president and chairman of the board of Monsanto Chemical Company. He has insisted on modern business practices and a crackdown on such "loss" items as clinics, ward beds, and a large house staff.

The medical school faculty, under Dean Edward W. Dempsey, considers these areas vital to a teaching program and has bitterly resisted numerous proposed changes. Feelings have been so roused that Mr. Queeny will no longer speak to Dean Dempsey. The once-intimate institutions have become separate camps, dealing with one another through guarded negotiations in which even the most routine communication is cautiously handled.

Despite newspaper and "official" assurances that patient care has not been affected, staff members privately concede that the famed medical center inevitably is beginning to suffer from the long-drawn out dispute over financial and administrative policies.

One doctor complained that he had attended seven two-hour policy sessions in the past week. "What do you think has happened to my research work?"

Relations between school and hospital trustees have become so strained that for the first time in history, the virtually independent medical school has had to turn for help to its parent University. Chancellor Thomas H. Eliot repeatedly was called in over the past two years to ease crises. Finally the University's own board of trustees became involved. Chair-

man James S. McDonnell, board chairman of McDonnell Aircraft Corp., now deals with Mr. Queeny.

To understand the lines of tension three distinct relationships must be viewed separately: the policy dispute between Barnes Hospital and the Medical School, the entry of the Washington University Board into the dispute on behalf of the School and their negotiations with Barnes Hospital, and the fear of the Medical School to lose its independence to the Washington University Board.

THE KNOWLES-HINSEY REPORT

Six months ago a four-man committee selected by the two board chairmen brought in two outside experts on medical centers to mediate the dispute, Dr. Joseph C. Hinsey, director of the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, and Dr. John H. Knowles, general director of Boston's Massachusetts General Hospital, both highly respected by all parties in the controversy. Ironically, the latest argument stems from their proposals. These include appointment by the University Chancellor of a jointly-paid new Vice Chancellor of Medical Affairs to serve as President of the Medical Center and administer it with the assistance of a joint executive committee.

However, many other suggestions were made in the report and the University states it will consider these for discussion but not for automatic adoption. The Barnes board insists on taking the entire mediator report as is, or not at all.

Other recommendations in the Knowles-Hinsey report include the following: no curtailments of staff, clinic, or services by Barnes Trustees; improvement of Maternity and McMillan by the Medical School; greater coordination of part-time staff into the medical program.

The most controversial items seem to be the suggestion that Barnes become the fiscal agent of the University in its buildings, that the Chancellor appoint a full-time Medical School dean, and the method of selection, duties, and payment of the proposed Vice Chancellor of Medical Affairs.

The medical school faculty objects to accepting the report en toto because they fear losing control of policies affecting teaching and research as well as medical care standards. They feel a University Vice Chancellor should be appointed and paid only by the University and should be nominated only by the medical faculty, not Barnes Hospital and Washington University. They further reason that a Vice Chancellor responsible to a subcommittee, composed of representatives from these two bodies without any for the medical school, would not be responsive to the wishes of the medical faculty. Such an appointment is acceptable to the Barnes Board because it would enable them to ignore the dean of the school and it is acceptable to the Washington University board because it would place the school under closer control of the University.

Initially, upon receiving the report, the two board chairmen, Mr. McDonnell and Mr. Queeny, flew to Boston to invite one of the consultants, Dr. Knowles, to fill the post of Vice Chancellor. They were turned down. Since then the job has been offered again to Dr. Knowles who has not given his answer at this writing. The faculty was not informed of this invitation, it appears.

THE MEDICAL SCHOOL

THE school faculty is composed of 200 full-time men salaried by the University and another 1200 part-time doctors with incomes from private practice who spend about a third of their time on teaching.

Policies of the medical school are set by the executive faculty, composed of the heads of all pre-clinical as well as clinical services, plus elected faculty representatives. This body elects from among its number a dean who is also head of a department. He acts as spokesman, but does not make policy. This arrangement is unique among America's medical schools.

Another body, the Joint Medical Advisory Committee, exists to determine medical policy for Barnes Hos-

pital. This includes the chiefs of service (general medicine, surgery, psychiatry, etc.) who are all full-time heads of departments in the medical school. However, faculty men charge that this group is not really being consulted. Among specific complaints are deterioration of the nursing services, unilateral action clamping down on clinic admissions of so-called indigents, and financial harassment which threatens the size and quality of staff.

Four key professor positions are now unfilled and the mediators warned that "the best individuals (which the medical school has become used to having) will hesitate to come into this presently unstable and relatively disorganized situation."

In order to keep better informed, express their opinions, and support the executive faculty, clinical and pre-clinical men having tenure but not on the executive faculty formed a Faculty Council. While they have no solution to the crisis, they insist that the operation of a teaching hospital is the responsibility of the University.

Most of the members of the Faculty Council's executive committee feel that Mr. Queeny stands in the way of any final solution. "I don't know how many people have spoken to him, trying to explain how a teaching hospital operates; he just can't or won't understand," one doctor said.

THE MEDICAL CENTER

ALTHOUGH the controversy is of vital concern to the public, the institutional relationships inhibit understanding. Barnes Hospital itself is simply one of eight hospitals which make up the Medical Center of Barnes Hospital and Washington University School of Medicine on Kingshighway boulevard. It is a private institution with a board of trustees appointed by the Methodist Bishop. However, it also operates Barnard Free Skin and Cancer Hospital and,

"After two years, Mr. Queeny still hasn't learned the meaning of a teaching hospital."

by contracts dating originally to 1912, administers five university-owned hospitals: Maternity, McMillan, Renard, Wohl, and Wohl Clinics. Children's Hospital, which has its own trustee board, also is associated with the Center.

In exchange for administering these properties, the trustees receive all operating and other revenue except income from endowment. The University also likes to emphasize that it has traditionally tried to help Barnes through other contributions. "We pay the salaries of the top third of the house staff, which amount to about one-half their staff costs. And we pay the salaries not only of the full-time staff, but of many lab consultants who receive only nominal sums from the hospital. And the autopsies which we do for them are a tremendous cost to other hospitals."

FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY DISPUTED

WHO pays for what has suddenly become important, after nearly 50 years of rather haphazard, but peaceful, accommodation. For example, the specific division of responsibility for maintaining University property is now a key issue. According to the Maternity contract: "Washington University, as owner, assumes the cost of all outside maintenance and repairs, including walls, roof, downspouts, guttering, etc., and the Trustees of Barnes Hospital, as operators, assume the cost of inside repairs, maintenance, upkeep and replacements."

A section of ceiling fell in a Maternity nursery. No one was injured, but each side immediately pointed the finger at the other. "The contract requires that you maintain the interior," said the school. "It wasn't the ceiling surface, but its whole structure that was at fault. You pay," said Barnes.

Or there is the Case of the Maternity Elevator. It doesn't operate properly. "This elevator is part of structure," Barnes said, presenting a bill. "Not so," said the medical school. And the elevator continued its malfunctioning ways.

"We offered to split the cost," a Barnes official complained. "But they don't even answer our letters anymore."

"We no longer bother to reply to all these demands," a University man said. "The contract is clear and we stand on it."

"Why you should see the silly

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"Mr. Queeny sends over," another man said. "He must spend all day every day just dreaming up these ultimatums."

"Mr. Queeny likes to keep things stirred up," a hospital spokesman noted. "He sometimes says or does things just to get a reaction. But he is dead serious about economy and improvement."

How "dead serious" is illustrated by the March 2nd Barnes order to close separate clinic facilities of the Psychiatry, Psychology, and Neurology Divisions on the third floor of Wohl Clinics "to cut down the cost of running the outpatient department." Patients were to be seen on other patient floors where space might be available.

The University has kept the floor open at its own expense, with department secretaries, and even a faculty wife, rotating to provide secretarial help. However, the Barnes administration refuses to refer patients to the floor, and doctors have to arrange to get patients and their records by themselves.

Doctors suspect the reason these particular clinics were hit was their increasing patient load, which runs counter to the Barnes policy of discouraging clinic patients. "I figured the absolute top savings Barnes could make would be \$9,000 or so a year, and most of that would have been made up by new patient fees," one doctor said.

"Frankly, I think Mr. Queeny just acted out of spite," he continued. "They actually closed a paying patient room in the hospital to move in the electrocardiogram lab they were removing from this floor. It makes no financial sense at all. In order to be accredited as a teaching hospital, we have to have clinics for every specialty covered. Even if Barnes got rid of ours, it would have to provide its own to continue as a teaching institution."

"A hospital is not simply a business," another man said. "After two years, Queeny still hasn't learned the meaning of a teaching hospital. We have to have a good house staff to have high quality care, and we get it if interns have a chance to develop their skills, to study, to learn. That's where ward beds enter the picture. These are the teaching beds. The clinics, used by people who can't afford private doctor fees, fill the beds. Sure, the hospital loses some money on them, but you wouldn't have good care for paying patients without a good teaching program to attract staff."

MR. QUEENY'S INFLUENCE

Mr. Queeny's strange power to shake the medical center stems from his domination of the Barnes board of trustees. He persuaded the Methodist Bishop to enlarge the board from eight to fifteen men, including apparently, members who were willing to follow his leadership. He contributed \$4,000,000 to the hospital, retaining control of its use. And he has paid for such special features as redecorating the Barnes lobby, including a plush expanse of red carpet, famous for its collection of debris and footprints, to cover up a marble floor.

His money is mighty leverage and his driving energy has brought trustee approval. Attempts to moderate his ways have not been very successful. Mr. Queeny has been known to shut up a trustee as sharply as one would an annoying child.

An example of his philosophy was revealed in an exchange at a celebrated meeting of the Barnes Hospital Society in January, 1963. Discussion centered on the proposed 17-story ambulatory care center to be known as the Queeny Tower (Mr. and Mrs. Queeny are paying half its cost). Barnes trustees planned to provide office space for private doctors not on the medical school staff. Dean Dempsey bitterly rejected the proposal, asserting the University's legal responsibility for professional medical care in the center. Mr. Queeny pointed out the much larger incomes of private doctors compared to faculty men and indicated his firm belief that anyone who earned more was undoubtedly worth more.

Most faculty doctors remain sceptical about the half-completed Tower, which will feature hotel space for families of patients, a rooftop restaurant and drive-in garage. They suggest that money used for this could have gone to increase endowment or improve existing facilities. And they charge that interest on loans for the building plus an insistence on increased depreciation allowances is creating a false deficit.

"Certainly Barnes Hospital has a financial problem," a responsible University official commented. "And if we have a feeling we are all in this together, we will work it out as we always have. But we cannot tolerate these financial demands Mr. Queeny makes without deteriorating the medical school's basic position and responsibility. We can't put the medical school in debt." This spokesman par-



ticularly condemned the effort to fully fund depreciation (setting aside large sums for future plant needs) at the expense of staff or clinics. "What good will it do to have a fancy hospital if you destroy the basis of good care so no one wants to come there?"

MR. QUEENY'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Mr. Queeny is credited with many accomplishments. "There's been tremendous improvement," a part-time doctor noted. This man, who happens to be one of Mr. Queeny's personal physicians said: "It looks better and patients I bring in get better service." Most doctors, including those critical of the trustee chairman, agree and praise modernization.

The question of attracting patients with a more "competitive" and up-to-date plant is repeatedly raised by Barnes officials. They cite the low occupancy rate at Maternity, which has had a reputation for shabbiness, and express belief that improvements there have increased the number of patients. "About 75 per cent of our patients come from private practice, through doctors who usually are also on other hospital staffs," a Barnes spokesman pointed out. "Those patients can choose to go somewhere else where they like the surroundings better. We have to compete or else."

Many changes already have been completed, and most have been widely praised. They include: air-conditioning of Wohl Hospital and Barnes wards; renovation of many patient rooms and operating rooms; installation of a table-service restaurant at Wohl and an automatic cafeteria at McMillan; construction of a four-floor deluxe-service addition to Rand-Johnson; a closed-circuit surgical viewing room; creation of a budget system; centralization of business operations; updating of a centralized laundry; installation of a new system to insure proper temperatures of pa-

tients' food; remodeling of the central Barnes lobby.

However the up to \$50-a-day accommodations in the Rand-Johnson addition are often cited as examples of excess. Wall-to-wall carpeting and sitting rooms with French Provincial refrigerator units are typical. "The prices really aren't out of line," a hospital spokesman said, "when you consider the going rate for hotel rooms. Remember, they're getting the best medical care, too."

WHEN Mr. Queeny became a trustee in 1960, the hospital plant was in a rapidly-deteriorating condition to which no one had paid very serious attention. An inspection by the Missouri Division of Health pinpointed serious hazards in Barnes itself. Maternity, built in 1927, required some renovation, as did McMillan, built in 1938.

But the enlarged board of trustees found little endowment on hand (approximately \$2,000,000, compared to Massachusetts General's \$40,000,000 or Johns Hopkins' \$20,000,000). There was no established pattern of gifts to the hospital, no building fund, no regular depreciation fund, and, of course, no profit. The annual deficit was met from the United Fund and other contributions.

For Mr. Queeny, who had run Monsanto's assets from \$12,000,000 to \$61,000,000 in his first ten years as president, this was a business challenge. Unlike more casual philanthropists, he wanted to direct the use of his charity. Retiring as board chairman of Monsanto (although remaining a director) in 1960, at the age of 62, he soon made himself a full-time hospital boss, although Barnes has a competent and respected administrator, Harry E. Panhorst, appointed in 1962.

"You can always tell when he's here," a hospital staff member noted, "because of all the people running in with papers." When he misses a day, he uses the phone.

While the Medical Center was notably successful, Mr. Queeny could see that it was poorly organized. If needed improvements required money, he felt there certainly were plenty of possibilities for economy. The new goal of the trustees became an efficient plant and a balanced budget.

To accomplish these ends, Mr. Queeny began issuing unilateral orders which the doctors charge would damage the teaching program.

"A teaching hospital cannot operate in the black," one doctor insisted. "Certainly there are private hospitals in this area that do, but we have a different operation. We are not providing custodial care, we are training fine doctors."

THE QUALITY OF SERVICE

The hard facts of medical life today show only 7000 applicants for the 24,000 hospital staff openings throughout the country. This explains the contrast in intensity of care between the Barnes center, where a house staff of 240 provides round-the-clock care, and many community hospitals where a handful of doctors are stretched thin, or only nurses watch at night.

"Ward interns at Barnes come from the top 5 per cent of their classes," a staff man said. "These are men capable of initiative, accurate diagnosis, and treatment. We have been able to achieve a ratio of one staff

"Anyone who earned more was undoubtedly worth more!"

EDGAR M. QUEENY

man for each 15 beds in both ward and private sections. These young doctors really have time to know their patients."

Another doctor pointed out the effects of changes in medicine due to increasing skills, procedures, and specializations. "We cover 18 specialties now and when there are more, we'll have to cover them, too," he said. "We realize that economics have to dictate the size staff a hospital can afford. It's the hospital which must decide to decrease, maintain or increase staff, but we certainly must work for proper professional standards."

And the staff chiefs rejected Queeny's order for a one-third cut in house staff as seriously affecting the quality of service.

One of the first moves of the more vigorous Queeny board was the hiring of a New York firm of management consultants to review, define, and schedule duties of all employees. As a result, in January 1963, Mr.

Queeny reported, 785 in-patients and 351 out-patients per day were cared for with but 89,500 manhours weekly compared to 108,000 man hours to cover 760 in-patients and 317 outpatients the previous year.

He noted that the savings had been used to decrease the work-week from 44 to 40 hours and sharply increase the pay scales. During the past few years, the lowest minimum has jumped from 55 cents to \$1.10 an hour, with corresponding increases in other scales. Intern wages were more than doubled to \$250 a month, with salaries for residents increased to a range of \$275 to \$375.

"I don't know what those consultants accomplished," a doctor complained. "They had industry, not hospital, experience. They antagonized people, and after a short period, they got no cooperation at all."

"Timing interns is ridiculous," a chief of service said. "There is no way of setting an average time for writing up a patient. Every case should differ."

The efficiency experts also visited the central diagnostic laboratories, which have an outstanding reputation as a unique facility. "We have professional consultants for each of our eight labs," one consultant explained. "What is hard to make the administration realize is that it's quality of staff that counts. We deal with complicated procedures and we have to have a certain leeway to secure qualified people when they are available. Establishing a budget was a fine idea, but we need freedom within it to decide how we will use our allotment."

Not only did the trustees hire a budget director, they also centralized admissions and collection offices to service all hospitals in the Center.

"It seems rather peculiar," a university spokesman commented dryly, "that the hospital instituted all these business principles and promptly went heavier into debt."

HOSPITAL COSTS

BARNES had always managed to handle its deficit problem until the Queeny budget changes and improvements. As costs rose, so did charges to patients. But then collections dropped off. As the deficit got bigger, so did Mr. Queeny's temper. He became convinced that the Medical School, which has a \$45,000,000 endowment, should pay the costs of loss operations, or he would simply cut these off.

Barnes officials pointed out that in 1953, when the clinics were operated by the University, they incurred a deficit of \$3,670, but in 1963, including the new building, this had risen to \$618,000.00.

Many doctors think the University possibly should contribute more to clinic costs, for example. University officials emphasize, however, "if costs are reevaluated, we want to go over them *completely*, not just what Mr. Queeny chooses. He conveniently ignores all the costs we already pay."

Room charges, which run \$4 to \$5 more than for other area hospitals, have risen sharply. A ward bed occupant who was billed \$14 five years ago, now is charged \$23. Semi-private rooms which ranged from \$15 to \$18.50 now cost the patient \$23 to \$32 and private rooms which were \$17.50 to \$30 now run \$25 to \$49.50. Rooms are priced according to location, view, furnishings, etc.

The 1963 annual report shows more than \$2,000,000 in free care provided by the hospital, aside from the value of University services, which would double the figure. Total patient services were figured at \$15,000,000. "If you want to understand our problem," a hospital man said, "just consider that we have 303 ward beds out of our current 933-bed total. We now make a profit on our private patient beds, but the wards are virtually a total loss. After all, anyone who could afford to pay his bills would pay a couple of dollars more to get at least semi-private accommodation." Despite better insurance coverage, the Hospital figures a loss of \$10 a day on each ward bed.

"Yet we provide the same fine care to the non-paying patient as we do to the person who pays in full, no matter how difficult or prolonged the case."

The ward, or teaching-bed situation, compares locally with 60 such beds out of 509 at Jewish Hospital, and 30 out of 340 at St. Luke's. These hospitals have created their own faculties.

However, Barnes is compared to the great teaching centers such as Massachusetts General, which has 405 teaching beds out of a 1012 total, and Johns Hopkins, which has 531 out of 1063.

Because these ratios are even greater than Barnes', the administration quickly points out the greater financial aid the other hospitals receive. "Mass. General gets \$1,000,-

000 in state-related benefits for treating indigents, and Johns Hopkins gets \$2,696,000 from Maryland and the City of Baltimore. Barnes received \$203,000 state aid in fiscal 61-62."

The same spokesman said: "It seems to me there should be a greater assumption of responsibility for these indigents, who are really wards of the state. Missouri is terribly backward in this respect. Even the Kerr-Mills aid, as finally implemented by Missouri, is extremely small. Some 25 to 30 per cent of our out-patient clinical service goes to people from outlying areas of the state, and yet it is the lawmakers from these rural areas who vote against aid to benefit metropolitan hospitals."

"Charity care must be paid by the public in one way or another," a doctor noted, "either through taxes and aid, or through higher charges to private patients. When patients do pay more, though, they have a right to expect the finest, highest quality care anywhere available."

One suggestion of the mediators was that representatives of all the hospitals meet with city and state officials to "demand fair and proper implementation of the Kerr-Mills Bill and generally, full reimbursement for the cost of caring for the indigent sick of the city, county, and state — rather than curtailing these vital and humanitarian services to the community for lack of payment and mounting deficits."

This is constructive joint action which could be taken by both sides without affecting any rights in dispute.

FUTURE PLANS

THE medical center had launched a \$48,000,000 campaign of its own, but it has bogged down less than half-way, with potential donors suggesting the Center first put its house in order.

Until the recent difficulties, the Center actually had announced expansion, with affiliation of Jewish and Children's Hospitals to form the Washington University Medical School and Associated Hospital Center. Some group purchasing and exchange of services have taken place in the past year, but the projected appointment of an over-all administrator has been considered impossible as long as conflicts exist. Mr. Queeny is also chairman of the nine-member Center board.



The Center Board has voted to authorize preparation of a comprehensive plan for the expanded Center and Chancellor Eliot was quoted that this larger hospital grouping may well be the "best hope for the future" in solving present problems.

"The Medical Center is extremely important to the St. Louis community. Many people settle here simply because of the school's reputation for medical care," an official noted.

Few like to consider the possibility of a break between the two institutions. If this should occur, Barnes (which has approximately one-half the (Center beds) would become just another private hospital and the Medical School would have to find another hospital affiliation or develop its own administration. Obviously, both would suffer.

The longer the stalemate continues, however, the more likely this becomes, and the more faculty support develops for such a move. At one time, doctors spoke of the problem chiefly in terms of harassment. *With actual clinic cuts in effect, clinic patients being discouraged and the whole intern program in danger, the medical school soon may have to act to save its teaching program.*

There are those who believe a tougher attitude by the University might wake up a majority of the Barnes trustees to their real choice: do you want to be part of a great medical center or to go it alone with Edgar Queeny?

More moderate voices insist the issue of personalities and personal views can be overridden if both sides will agree on establishing an over-all medical director with proper duties and powers. A man of great ability filling such a post might solve the current crisis.

Harriett Woods is a St. Louis freelancer. She is a former reporter for a St. Louis metropolitan newspaper and has extensive experience in the media field.

LETTERS

Continued from page 4

development will lead to broader demands for U.S. commodity and machine exports. In most of the areas to which we sell food, people exist on subsistence levels — they eat the bare minimum for survival. But with increased farm production, they will find themselves living at above-subsistence levels. They will discover that they can obtain a wider variety of foods.

As the economy grows, and the demand for food tends to diversify, most less-developed countries will probably not be able to meet all domestic demands.

So they will turn to great commodity exporting countries like the United States. They will continue to buy our surplus supplies, while they increasingly demand our non-surplus commodities — such as poultry.

If we assist agricultural development, less-developed countries will increase their demand for U.S. farm equipment and machines. The domestic industrialization which results from an expanding farm program will require tools and machines from the U. S.

Food for Peace shipments do not compete with regular U.S. commercial sales and do not upset normal trade patterns. Our commodities are generally not available to the local people except in the form of Food for Peace. Rather than hurt trade patterns, our food sales are today gaining new trade partners for future U. S. commercial exports.

Japan is a good example of this type of market expansion. During the first nine years of Food for Peace, the Japanese have doubled their consumption of wheat, tripled their consumption of milk, and quadrupled their consumption of meat. Traditionally rice eaters, the Japanese today are consuming greater quantities of bread than ever before.

Japan imports most of its wheat from the U.S. On the door-step of poverty fifteen years ago, Japan is now the world's largest cash buyer of American cotton, soybeans, hides and skins, tallow, non-fat dry milk, raisins and currants.

I hope that in the weeks ahead people in our Midwestern states can do some careful thinking about how to strengthen Food for Peace.

Meanwhile, we are deeply conscious that with this program we are confronting the despair of want with the hope of abundance and peace.

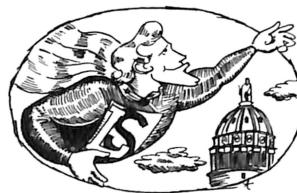
Edward V. Long
United States Senator

Missouri Officials Weigh Super-Lobby

A new and potentially powerful lobby is forming in Missouri. The idea of a unified voice to plead the cause of elected county officials throughout Missouri is now being fostered and forcefully promoted among the various state-wide organizations for each of the elective county officers.

Organizations to further the goals and ideas of individual office holders in Missouri are far from new. For many years the county officials have collectively worked through various groups, but until recently each office was too concerned with its own advancement to pay any but lip service to the desires of other individuals or groups.

Pension plans have been the goal of the Missouri Association of Probate Judges; the Missouri County School Superintendents' Association is involved in convincing officials not on its membership rolls that their office is not outdated; uniform state statutes governing death investigation is the aim of the Missouri State Coroners' Association; and all of the groups are



in a continual struggle with the Missouri legislature pushing bills raising salaries, fees, mileage compensation, etc.

In mid-June St. Louis will host two of these state organizations. During the three-day affair they might warrant a few lines in the metropolitan dailies but otherwise go unnoticed.

But officials in other state groups will be watching the meeting with more than average interest. They want to find out if more than one group can work on common as well as individual problems with a minimum of conflict.

Leaders in the June meeting will be a pair of forceful young politicians who head up two of the more vocal county officials' groups: Bill Rose, Cape Girardeau County collector, and Bill Crump, Clay County treasurer.

Last fall, in separate meetings, the pair fanned enthusiasm for a merger among their supporters and initial steps toward consolidation were taken. Since that time a number of problems have been ironed out on the executive level and a firm footing established for a formal joining at

the June general membership meeting.

The avowed purpose for the union is a stronger voice in state legislative decisions concerning their offices. They will also gain a stronger voice in state politics, despite the non-partisan makeup of each group.

Other state groups in their annual meetings last fall discussed formally and informally the merits of consolidation, some of the groups even taking tentative steps toward such a goal through resolutions to "investigate the possibilities . . ." Unofficial feelers went out from some leaders, but so far without any evident results.

Although no formal invitations have been made, representatives from at least two organizations — assessors and coroners — are expected to be on hand for the treasurer-collector meeting to observe proceedings. Only the most conservative observers fail to predict further mergers before the end of 1964.

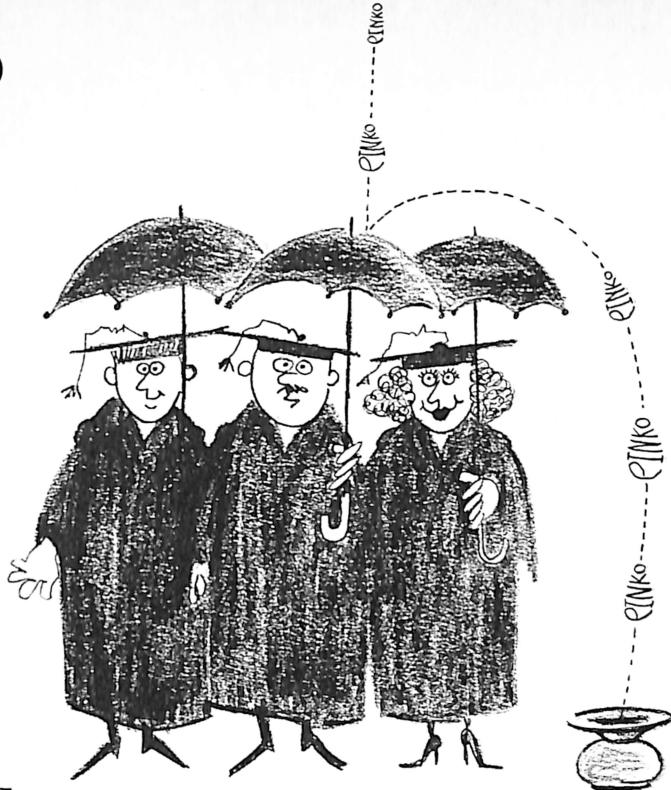
The *Missouri Official Magazine*, a publication aimed at county officials in Missouri, has been actively pushing for eventual consolidation of all nine state organizations it represents: collectors, treasurers, school superintendents, circuit clerks and recorders, treasurers, county judges, clerks, assessors, and probate judges.

Encouraged by progress already displayed by the treasurers and collectors, many county officials think eventual achievement of the complete merger goal is a distinct possibility within the next two years.

Whether the new force which could be brought to bear on the Missouri legislature would be of benefit to the state cannot be determined now. The officials, of course, believe it would be a benefit. However, some legislators and others connected with legislative matters view a "super-organization" as a decided danger unless activities are rigidly confined to the official aims of the organizations representing county officials in Missouri.

Perhaps the tone set at the St. Louis meeting will give a better insight into the character of this fledgling idea that could be full-grown within two years.

Walter Dale, a pen name, works closely with Missouri officials and is a constant observer of Missouri politics.



Sedition In Illinois?

Donald Meiklejohn

THE motives and implications of the Broyles Investigation of 1949 take on new significance as we see more clearly the background of liberal trends in education in the late 1940s. The University of Chicago, under the controversial leadership of Robert M. Hutchins, had achieved great academic distinction attended by occasionally defiant independence. In the late 1930s the University was criticised for "radicalism" by the head of the Walgreen Drug Store chain. Frederick L. Schuman, then professor of international relations and history, had been singled out in particular as corrupter of the young, including Walgreen's niece who was then a student. In a dramatic reversal, Mr. Hutchins persuaded Mr. Walgreen of the soundness of his niece's education, and Walgreen forthwith endowed the University with a fund to sponsor serious lectures on social and political topics. The University maintained its prestige throughout the pre-war period. And during the war it fortified its position in the public eye by rendering — despite its emphasis on the humanities — great services in applied physical science.

At the war's end as returning veterans crowded the University, political controversy ran high. Most of the students were middle-road in their point of view; a few were Communists or Trotskyites. The University of Chicago student newspaper was from time to time dominated by editors decidedly leftist in leaning and

at no great pains to reflect preponderant student opinion. For most students politics was secondary in importance to studies. But there were radicals who were active in student politics; they held meetings, entertained outside speakers, and attracted the attention of investigators from the state legislature.

Roosevelt College in Chicago, and some of the Chicago city high schools, also were reputed in some quarters to be "leftists." Roosevelt, established just after the war as the "poor man's University of Chicago," was devoted to self-government by both students and faculty. A number of high school teachers were accused of radical teaching; pressures were recurrent for a teachers' loyalty oath. Private groups, notably in Chicago's northern suburbs, announced their determination to see to it that "progressive education" should not be permitted to become "dangerous."

The conservative critics of the schools included the Americanism director of the American Legion in Illinois, Mr. Edward Clamage, a number of suburban Legion groups, and some aldermen in Chicago who urged the fostering of "patriotic" teaching. The defenders of the schools' independence were largely led and co-ordinated by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Teachers' Union, the League of Women Voters, and the Jewish Labor Committee.

The 1949 story of this conflict shows the defenders victorious, the investigators and critics of educa-

tion fumbling and uncertain. Attacks on academic freedom were slowed as a result of this encounter. Yet the attacks were renewed in 1951 and 1953 — to be turned back then by successive vetoes by Governor Stevenson and Governor Stratton; and in 1955 a state-wide loyalty oath requirement was imposed on all public employees. No doubt teachers also were affected by the threat of renewed investigation.

THE 1949 story had its origin in the Illinois Senate which voted in 1947 to set up a seditious activities investigation commission, in response to a resolution of the American Legion. The commission of five Senators, headed by Paul Broyles of Mt. Vernon, five House members, and five public members appointed by the Governor, was to "investigate any activities of any person or persons, co-partnership, association, organization, group or society . . . which are suspected of being directed toward the overthrow of the Government of the United States or the State of Illinois." The Bill was amended to apply to the Ku Klux Klan. Little danger to Illinois was adduced in arguments for the bill, and it seemed clear that the radicals in the minds of the legislature were well-known liberals on the Chicago and Roosevelt faculties.

The Commission went rather slowly to work. Initial interest in focusing on the Communist Party and the American Youth for Democracy was

dulled by the argument that such groups could effectively plead the cause of free speech. Another abortive effort looked toward public housing officials, another toward public library shelves. By October 1947 the Commission decided that the "schools would be the spot that was most dangerous," and they declared that there were dangerous teachers at Chicago and at the University of Illinois.

Investigations throughout 1947 and 1948 were recommended to veterans' organizations in the state but these turned up little information. A paid investigator, Charles Kruger, studied five colleges, three junior colleges, and six Chicago high schools. But Kruger's findings do not appear with any impact in the transcript of the Broyles Commission hearings. In sum, Kruger reported that he had found a Communist Club (membership ten, in a student body of 8,500) at the University of Chicago; and he thought these students had been leftist before they came to the University. Probably also reflecting Kruger, the Commission announced that in the Chicago high schools some teachers were "ardent followers of subversive movements."

The Commission also looked into textbooks, but concluded that teachers rather than books presented the principal danger. The Commission report to the Legislature in 1949 recommended loyalty oaths for public employees, exclusion from public employment of all connected with a subversive organization, and outlawry of the Communist Party in Illinois. Similar legislation already was on the statute books though not tested in the courts.

The Illinois Legislature deliberated the proposals of the Broyles Commission beginning on March 2, 1949. Opposition was heard from the Chicago Bar Association, the Chicago Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Chicago Federation of Teachers, and three of the four leading Chicago newspapers. A delegation of students from the University of Illinois, the University of Chicago, and Roosevelt College, expressed urgent objection to the proposals; these 150 students were directed and maneuvered to some extent by members of left-wing organizations. They were doubtless obstreperous in talking to the legislators; they insisted on being served — white and colored students together — in the "white only" dining room of the Hotel Lincoln in

Springfield; they became disorderly when service was refused. Legislative irritation with such behavior resulted in voting Mr. Broyles \$2,500 to investigate "all subversive activities at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College."

Governor Adlai Stevenson approved the bill authorizing the investigation, expressing doubt of the need for this but affirming reluctance to interfere with the legislature and also declaring that these institutions should have their chance to be heard. The Broyles Commission, so far committed to secret proceedings, now was forced to operate openly. It enlisted the services of Benjamin Gitlow, formerly a leading American Communist but disaffected since 1929, and J. B. Matthews, later known as author of the charge that many American clergymen were Communist-tainted.

THERE were public hearings which involved testimony by Presidents Hutchins of Chicago and Sparling of Roosevelt, as well as some "suspect" faculty members. The Presidents conceded the existence of Communist Clubs on their respective campuses, each with about ten students. President Hutchins said he supposed it was good for such students to be on the campus: "How else would they ever learn better?" he asked. The Commission also received information, not directly validated, of rumors of Communist influence at Chicago, even in the Young Republican Club.

In examination of President Hutchins and others by Matthews the latter's questions ranged widely. Mr. Hutchins made it clear that he believed in the legitimacy of a Communist Club which did not commit its members to illegal acts: "Rudeness is not Redness," he said. Mr. Matthews brought up the cases of Oskar Lange, formerly in Chicago's Department of Economics and on leave despite his return to his native Poland, and of Professor Maud Slye, cancer expert associated, Matthews said, with many "front organizations." Mr. Hutchins replied that "subversion" as defined by Matthews was not a ground for exclusion from the faculty. Mr. Matthews then declared that some 15 faculty members at Chicago were associated with front organizations; a later summary purported to show that "some 69-odd persons listed in the latest available directory of the University of Chi-

cago as professor or professor emeritus have been affiliated with 135 Communist front organizations in 465 separate affiliations." To this Mr. Hutchins replied that the University would not act on the basis of guilt by association, though of course it would act in the event of violation of law if any were proved.

Matthews and Senator Broyles found plausible, it is clear, the concept of the "subversive state of mind." For President Hutchins the only sense in which subversion could properly be invoked to outlaw the Communist Club would be one involving an active "overturn" of the government. Mr. Hutchins employed the traditional American distinction between thought, which must be free, and acts, which may be restrained; Mr. Mathews believed in "dangerous" thoughts.

Though neither President Hutchins nor Mr. Matthews convinced the other, their exchange was personally good-tempered. Mr. Hutchins in the end thanked the Commission for its courtesy and said:

I believe there is a fundamental difference between the line of questioning which has been pursued and the position which the University takes on one important matter. The University does not subscribe to the doctrine of guilt by association. The University does not believe that an individual should be penalized for other acts than his own. The University believes that if a man is to be punished, he should be punished for what he does and not for what he has belonged to or for those with whom he has associated. I should like to remind you of the words of scripture: 'He consorted with publicans and sinners, therefore he is guilty.'

And no doubt in reacting to this Mr. Matthews could not see how this would bear on sympathies for Communism as these might show in efforts to improve Soviet-American friendship.

The Hutchins' interrogation was followed by testimony from a Chicago Herald-American reporter who told of attending a meeting of the University of Chicago Communist Club and of having one or two students there pointed out as Communist Party members; these would not concede however that they would put Soviet interests ahead of American in-

erests. The Commission then interrogated one of the student members of the Communist Club, who declined — with the express support of a Commission member — to testify about his alleged connections with the Communist Party and the American Youth for Democracy.

On the second day of the public hearings, President Sparling of Roosevelt College testified that his faculty included no Communists, and that Communists had opposed the development of his college.

From these local topics the proceedings moved back to the world scene as Matthews quizzed Dr. John Thompson of Rockefeller Chapel at the University of Chicago. Dr. Thompson was revealed to have connections with a number of nationwide groups such as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, listed by the House Un-American Activities Committee (although not then by the Attorney-General) as subversive. Further questions concerned Thompson's connections with a group seeking to prevent America's entry into World War II in 1940. The relevance of these questions to the Broyles inquiry could, it seems, only be established if one feared that American youth were being corrupted into a lack of patriotism and that screening of dangerous teachers might prevent this.

This fear of "dangerous teaching" was in fact exhibited on the final day of the hearings when a "surprise witness," one Howard Rushmore, presented the allegedly Communist front records of a number of University of Chicago faculty members: his main source of information about the groups in question was the House Committee on Un-American Activities. However, when each of these faculty members testified before the Commission, and asked if he were charged with subversive teaching, he was assured that he was not so charged. The Commission broadcast rumor of such teaching but then backed down upon direct confrontation.

These hearings in April 1949 terminated the Commission's official proceedings. The Commission urged that Communist propaganda be banned from campuses; it reiterated references to a "red menace" in our midst; it urged that subversive teachers be excluded from public schools. Two Commissioners dissented from the suggestion that subversive activities had in fact been discovered.

The sequel of the 1949 investigation was the passage of anti-subversive bills, sponsored by Broyles, in 1951 and 1953, both of which were vetoed by the Governor. An omnibus bill of 1955 was passed and approved calling for non-payment of state funds to those who refused to complete an affidavit of non-membership in associations on a proscribed list — virtually the Attorney-General's list. A few persons, notably Quakers, have refused to take the oath and have been denied payment. But it seems unlikely that the 1949 investigation contributed as much to the passage of this legislation as did the efforts of Senator McCarthy in intervening years. The University of Chicago and Roosevelt College were not affected by the bill and during the investigation by the Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee under Senator Jenner showed no willingness to yield any ground.

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So far I have told the story as accurately as the records permit. What follows is my own appraisal of the investigation. The Broyles Investigating Commission found no subversive activity in Illinois. But it did invade academic freedom. It did not show that existing laws were inadequate. It showed no teaching reflecting Communist influence. It published no report on its investigations of the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College. The legislation it recommended did not win wide approval in the Illinois legislature. It spent public money; it took the time of busy and important people; but it was barren.

The investigators no doubt believed they had made the people of Illinois aware of the "dangerous teachers" in their midst. But they abused the fact that a few teachers did belong to some quite legal groups to mislead the people of Illinois about the kinds of teaching actually prevalent in the classroom.

The University of Chicago faculty and students learned a good deal about practical politics during the episode. They learned too that even teachers and college presidents can win respect in legislative hearings if they speak with conviction and candor. The University was not driven to demand of any teacher that he "explain" his teaching. The Chairman of the University's Board of Trustees was outspoken in his defense of the University and its officials.



Some influence may be attributed to the investigation insofar as it is understood as a part of a very extensive attack on left-wing groups, for the Communist Clubs did dwindle away, and other left-wing groups became less active. There also appeared to be, according to a survey made by the American Civil Liberties Union, a good deal of caution manifested throughout Illinois in the matter of bringing outside speakers to college campuses. It is interesting that the testimony on this point went along with the insistence that internally academic freedom was well maintained.

In other words, the Broyles investigation may be taken as a part of a familiar resistance, on the part of the less intellectual segments of the community, to speakers and thinkers from the wider world of affairs, national and international. The tension between gown and town is intensified in time of cold war; the leading academic institutions are the natural targets of those who wish to conserve a conventional patriotism. Senator Broyles spoke for downstate Illinois in trying to punish the institutions of Chicago for their free-wheeling academic ways.

The Broyles investigation was thus a small step backward toward parochialism and prejudice. Yet it did show that resolute American educators can defend themselves against a spray of careless charges. The Chicago and Roosevelt faculties and their students and supporters in the community learned that a legislature and a public can be brought to respond to demands for evidence, for relevance, for respect for the Bill of Rights.

Donald Meiklejohn is professor of philosophy and the director of the Citizenship Program at Syracuse University. From 1946 to 1963 he was at the University of Chicago in the social sciences, after 1958 with the title of professor of philosophy. He is the former chairman of the Academic Freedom Committee of the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union.



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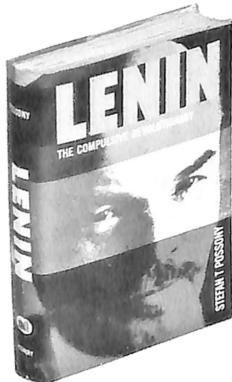
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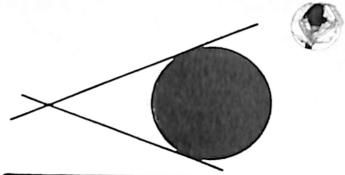
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BOOKS

Experiments With Purple Prose / Nancy Holmes

SECOND SKIN, John Hawkes (New Directions, \$4.00, 210 pp.)

After publication of "The Lime Twig" in 1961, there seemed nowhere the author need worry about going, except perhaps to a wider audience. Whatever else John Hawkes would write would be frosting on his accomplishment. The audience is growing; Hawkes is discussed in classrooms and read in coffee shops. Now "Second Skin" appears simultaneously in a handsome cloth edition and in paperback. And we see, with mixed emotions of dismay and gratification, that Hawkes is still experimenting, still making up his mind.

A balding, overweight, ex-Naval officer remembers his life in episodes that defy chronology or predictable patterns of coherence. Skipper is like William Hencher in "The Lime Twig." A seeker after love and a failure at life, he maintains a dapper little, sad little outlook. His father is a mortician who blows off his head. Skipper marries Gertrude, who wills him to hate her through stages of alcoholism and adultery and who commits suicide into the bargain. His daughter Cassandra marries a homosexual who deserts her after their child is born. Cassandra then prostitutes herself for a family (father and two sons, one with a hook in place of his hand) before leaping from a lighthouse to death. In spite of universal efforts to be accepted, Skipper has only two friends—his Negro servant Sonny from the Navy and a Polynesian girl named Catalina Kate who doesn't speak English. (His compulsive dialogues with the others are answered infrequently.)

"The high lights of [Skipper's] naked history" are a mutiny aboard his ship, Cassandra's wedding celebrated and consummated in a mining ghost-town, a shore patrol duty that leads him to the mutilated body of Cassandra's ex-husband, a winter on an island somewhere off the Atlantic coast with his family and the

ghoulish, big-breasted widow Miranda, and the last port—a tropical island where he lives happily with Catalina and Sonny and works as an artificial inseminator (cows).

In shorthand "Second Skin" looks like "The Lime Twig." People struggle for survival and beg for love; they don't know who they are; they succeed at colossal failures; they are used by the strong, a race of people who wouldn't recognize Good tattooed on its chest. Life in general is a diabolical horror, a nightmare from which we will surely wake up. Death-in-life existence is characterized by—as well as fed by—the distortion of or the absence of love, inevitable breakdowns in human communication, the easy corruption of youth, a reduction of satisfactory alternatives while macabre possibilities reproduce like rabbits. Suicide becomes the only response to individual groupings on an insane planet.

Hawkes operates against the grain of reality as we prefer to view it. His fiction is unique in its relevance, and the style corresponds. We are deprived of road maps. We fall for paradoxes we would hide from ordinarily. (In an oasis of orchids and conch shells there'll be "bright yellow turds hanging from a soft gray bough.") We follow a movie camera recording in slow motion bunches of detail that shock, sicken, and worry. Hawkes writes a kind of purple (the color of a bruise) prose that he used



John Hawkes, author of Second Skin, The Lime Twig, The Cannibal, The Beetle Leg, and The Goose on the Grave and the Owl, all published by New Directions.

sparingly in "The Lime Twig." In "Second Skin" he can't use it enough, with the effect of a jazz combo improvising all evening on the same song.

Skipper tells his own story, and the novel's unity of tone is stained by his personality. Skipper is a comedian in the word's wide definition. What happens to him or what he sees happening to others he challenges with forgetfulness, cowardice, delusion, humor. He moves with animal instinct from one adventure into another, in love with life beyond human comprehension.

Here I have only to drop my trousers — no shirt, no undershirt, no shorts — to awaken paradise itself, awaken it with the sympathetic sound of Catalina Kate's soft laughter. And it makes no difference at all. Because I am seven years away from Miranda, seven years from that first island . . . and seven years from Cassandra's death and, thanks to the wind, the gold, the women and Sonny and my new profession, am more in love than ever. Until now the cemetery has been my battleground. But no more. Perhaps even my father . . . would be proud of me.

Finally he writes everything down and the paper apparently absorbs life's nightmares. "And now there is the sun in the evening, the moon at dawn, the still voice."

One can speculate *ad infinitum* why Hawkes has switched to comic overtones, where absurdity stands for

REVIEWERS: JACK CONROY is the author of "The Disinherited" which was reissued in paperback about a year ago. NANCY HOLMES, a free-lancer, lives in Kansas City.



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BOOKS & PRINTS

INTERLUDE / John Unterecker

Say that summer is two drifts of light,
Two banks of sunlight flanking smile of road—
And from nowhere, say, a sweep of boy becomes.
Frame him in half-past-dream, a bicycle dream
Of handlebar arms; and, spinning into the dream,
Assign him laughter and eyes. (I call that boy
Myself. We ride to a house all laughter and grass,
Handstands and phlox, swimming and milk-white day.
And if there is night, it is dancing night, the girls
Sun-washed and golden, and the lake full of leftover sun.)

To ride no-hands, balanced in shine!

John Unterecker is a professor and writer at Columbia University.

ridiculousness (or even hilarity) as well as tragedy. He is saying, of course, that laughter, or a cool detachment, or a mental imbalance are some means of toleration. Or perhaps he has created a metaphor for the familiar dilemma where one doesn't know whether to laugh or

cry. He marches us to the brink, but there's always the ambivalent figure of Skipper between us and the abyss. We miss the control and reasonableness bearing down on the "tragedy" of contemporary man's fate in "The Lime Twig" that fixes it in our minds like cancer.

The Essence of Chicago / Jack Conroy

CHICAGO, Edward Wagenknecht
(University of Oklahoma Press,
\$2.75, 182 pp.)

It has been said that anybody who has had more than a casual acquaintance with Chicago is apt to have violent opinions about the city, either pro or con. Or there may be strongly ambivalent emotions, as appears to be the case with Nelson Algren in his *Chicago: City on the Make*. "I love thee, infamous city!" he quotes from the epilogue to Baudelaire's *Flowers of Evil*, a poem which provides a leitmotiv for all his works of fiction. Algren loves its "harlots and hunted," but jeers at the squares in:

Small cheerful apartments, the beer in the icebox, the pipes in the rack, the children well behaved and the TV well tuned, the armchairs fatly upholstered, and the record albums filled: 33 rpm, 45 rpm, 78 rpm. Where the 33 rpm husband eats all his vitamin-stuffed dinner cautiously and then streaks to the bar across the street to drink himself senseless among strangers.

Fredrika Bremer, a touring Swedish novelist, remarked peevishly in 1863:

"Chicago is one of the most miserable and ugly cities which I have seen in America, and is very little deserving of its name, 'Queen of the Lake'; for, sitting there on the shore of the lake in wretched dishabille, she resembles rather a huckstress than a queen."

The place, according to *New Yorker* correspondent A. J. Liebling, hadn't changed much in 1938, when he said of his arrival:

"Seen from the taxi, on the long ride from the airport, the place looked slower, shabbier, and, in defiance of all chronology, older than New York. There was an outer-London dinginess to the streets; the low buildings, the industrial plants, and the railroad crossings at grade produced less the feeling of being in a great city than of riding through an endless succession of factory-town main streets."

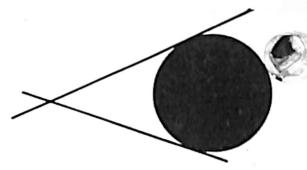
In this book, the thirteenth of "The Centers of Civilization Series," a native son now teaching in Boston, makes a conscientious effort to steer a middle course between the Scylla of depreciation and derision and the Charybdis of rhapsodic and uncritical eulogy. Of making books about Chicago there is no end, it is true, but few have equalled Wagenknecht's in packing so much information in so limited a space. There is more in-

formation than opinion, though the author does take a positive stand now and then. He describes this small volume as a "love letter to mother from an unfaithful son." He feels unfaithful because he doubts if he'll ever return to the city of his birth, although: "As a youngster I used to walk her streets grateful to God that my lot had been cast with her rather than elsewhere, and I still find Michigan Avenue between the Blackstone and the Water Tower more exciting than any street in New York." Now, he confesses, he has "fallen out of love with all cities and that the New England countryside has captured me."

This revelation offers a clue to the placid spirit in which Wagenknecht has approached his task. At times the placidity is tinged with the dogmatism of the classroom. His judgments incline to the liberal view on social questions — such as the so-called Haymarket Riot and the working conditions of its time — but veer toward conservatism or prudishness when literature is considered. With Nelson Algren as his principal target, he comments:

"In Chicago as elsewhere recent writers have been discovering what every small boy always knew — that there are some nasty words in the English language and that these nasty words are the products of nasty minds; consequently there has been a tendency to turn to the bottom rather than to the top for what it now seems quaint to describe as literary inspiration."

He then chides Algren for declaring: "The more I see of those below, the more I say to hell with you squares on top." To this, our historian retorts: "Everybody to his own taste," as the old lady said when she kissed the cow." Charging the "Division Street Dostoevsky" with using "nasty words" and having a "nasty mind" seems off target and a bit too schoolmarmish. Algren's pronunciamento is part of his Hemingwayesque effort to create a public image of himself as a rough and tough customer. His customary stamping ground, however, is not the West Madison Street alley in which he has been photographed in a turtle-neck sweater, standing in rusty beer cans and the shards of rotgut bottles, leaning against a grimy billboard from which theatrical posters are peeling. You're more likely to find him at his private table in the posh night club Jazz Limited, discoursing with admiring University of Chicago students on poker playing and horse racing.



VOTING RECORDS

Congress

Key to Symbols:

Y	Voting for the Bill
N	Voting against the Bill
A	Absent
AY	Announced for the Bill
AN	Announced against the Bill
PY	Paired for the Bill
PN	Paired against the Bill
HR	House Bill
S	Senate Bill

U. S. SENATE VOTES

(A) **HR 7152** Civil Rights Act of 1964. Mansfield (D Mont.) motion to recess the Senate until Monday, April 6. (The motion was offered after civil rights proponents failed to muster a quorum (Fifty-one Senators to conduct Senate business.) Motion adopted 27-14; R 4-12; D 23-2 (ND 17-2; SD 6-0), April 4, 1964. The president did not take a position on the motion.

(B) **HR 7152** Civil Rights Act of 1964. Amendment to require a jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising under titles covering public accommodations, government entry in civil rights cases, withdrawal of federal funds and fair employment practices and allowing the judge discretion in whether to grant a jury trial in sections covering voting rights, school desegregation and access to public facilities. Rejected 19-74; R 16-14; D 3-60 (ND 2-41; SD 1-19), May 6, 1964. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

	A	B
Dirksen (R. Ill.)	A	N
Douglass (D. Ill.)	Y	N
Long (D. Mo.)	A	N
Symington (D. Mo.)	Y	N

U. S. HOUSE VOTES

(A) **HR 10222** Food stamp bill, authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to set up and finance state and local food stamp programs, and authorizing \$400 million over fiscal years 1964-67 to cover the costs. Passage of the bill. Passed 229-189; R 13-163; D 216-26 (ND 141-2; SD 75-24), April 8, 1964. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

ILLINOIS		
21	Gray (D)	Y
24	Price (D)	Y
23	Shipley (D)	Y
16	Anderson (R)	N
17	Arends (R)	N
20	Findley (R)	N
14	Hoffman (R)	A
12	McClory (R)	N
19	McLoskey (R)	N
18	Michel (R)	N
15	Reid (R)	N
22	Springer (R)	N
CHICAGO		
1	Dawson (D)	A
9	Finnegan (D)	Y
5	Kluczynski (D)	Y
7	Libonati (D)	Y
3	Murphy (D)	Y
6	O'Brien (D)	A
2	O'Hara (D)	Y
11	Pucinski (D)	Y
8	Rostenkowski (D)	Y
10	Collier (R)	N
4	Derwinski (R)	N
13	Rumsfeld (R)	N
MISSOURI		
5	Bolling (D)	Y 1
9	Cannon (D)	Y 4
6	Hull (D)	Y 3
8	Ichord (D)	Y 2
10	Jones (D)	Y 7
		Karsten (D)
		Randal (D)
		Sullivan (D)
		Curtis (R)
		Hall (R)